

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"These are the reasons for thinking, that" [in the war about to be begun in June last] "the result cannot be favourable. Austria will be driven to the alternative of concluding a treaty under the same circumstances that obliged her to conclude the treaties of Leoben and Luneville, and to submit to such terms as France shall dictate; for, it is contrary to all experience and history to suppose, as has been argued, that being engaged to Russia and England, she will be bound to hold out to the last. No country can be obliged, by any treaty, to hold out to its destruction and to lie down under its ruin. There is, however, this other alternative, that Austria may adopt, namely, to hold out to the end; but, may not that conduct endanger the total extinction of the second power in Europe. If she adopt, as I think she will, the former alternative, we shall then be driven, after all our efforts and expense, either to make a separate peace, or carry on a defensive war. I hope we shall not be reduced to that alternative, and therefore, I shall not discuss what ought to be our conduct in such a case."—Mr. Fox's Speech, 21st June, 1805, upon the motion for providing the means of giving subsidies to the Continental Powers. See *PARL. DEBATES*, Vol. V. p. 538.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—When the ship is apparently going upon the rocks, the common sailor, nay the cabin-boy, has a right, and it is his duty, to break through the restraints imposed by his humble situation and capacity, and to call upon the crew, of all ranks and degrees, to save themselves and him. Upon the justice of this observation I may, I trust, safely rest, in the mind of every reflecting man, for an apology for expressing, upon this occasion, a desire, and even a hope, of being able to obtain general attention; for, who, except he belong to that description of persons whose trade it is to deceive the people, will *now* deny, that, notwithstanding some faint glimmerings of hope that have broken through the gloom, England, since the days of William the Conqueror, never knew dangers equal to the present?—The war upon the Continent may be regarded as being at an end; for, whatever may be the mitigation which the more recent intelligence appears to promise, in the fate of Austria, whatever may be the views and the conduct of Prussia, is there any man who believes, or will, if not hired for the purpose, pretend to believe, that any efficient check can *now*, or, without some change not to be reasonably expected, for many years to come, be opposed to France, upon the Continent? The consequence of this state of things will, in all likelihood, be, that ours will again become a war of mere self-defence; or we shall make a peace still more disgraceful and disadvantageous than the peace of Amiens, one of the preliminaries of which peace will be, the unconditional surrender of Malta, for the sake of retaining which the ministers, ostensibly, went to war.—Attempts will, I have no doubt, be made; nay, attempts are making, still to lull the people with the hope

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of success, in some way or other, upon the Continent. But, is it possible, that, after what they have witnessed within these six months, the people of England should still be the dupes of these deceivers? It is, as has been before observed, the way of a weak ministry, to be supported by the falsehoods of their partizans: they live along from deception to deception: the people are always bid to confide, and are almost always deceived: but, ere the effect of one falsehood is worn away, another comes to its aid: and, as about eight-tenths of the periodical press is, from causes that need not be pointed out to the well-informed reader, devoted to the ministry of the day, detection and exposure, upon a scale commensurate with the delusion, is hardly to be expected; yet, of late, so rapidly have events followed one another, giving, at every step, the lie direct to the statements of these deluders, and so striking, so awful, have been those events, that one might hope to see an end to this besotted credulity. The boasting language of the Mayor of London and Mr. Pitt has, as yet, hardly completed its circuit through the kingdom: the temple of folly yet resounds with the praise bestowed by the former upon the latter of these persons, as "the man to whom *all Europe* looked as the *only barrier* between them and slavery." In recording the circumstances of these puerile scenes, and especially that part of them which exhibited to the public, a citizen's wife in the *family way*, led up by her husband to touch the wonder-working, "heaven-born minister," having spoken of these worse than childish acts, in which the prime minister of the kingdom is, in the newspapers devoted to him, represented as having taken so large a part, I observed, that it would be curious to know, what, at that very time, *Napoleon was about*. We now,

to our sorrow find, that, at the moment that the Mayor of London was proclaiming Mr. Pitt to be the only barrier between Europe and slavery, Napoleon was actually aiming his last blows at the destruction of the *real* barrier between Europe and his absolute sway: we now find, that, while our "great man" was listening to the fulsome toasts and songs of the fund-dealers, in the Guild-hall of London, Napoleon was assisting at a *Te Deum*, in the Abbey of Moelk, in celebration of his victories over the armies of our allies: while our "great man" was, with gracious condescension and unspeakable self-complacency, holding forth his hand to be squeezed by a citizen's wife "in the family way;" on that very day, and, perhaps, in that very same hour, did Napoleon behold at his feet the supplicating magistrates of the city of Vienna: while our "great man," was, by a hired mob and with those ropes so carefully kept for the purpose in the city, drawn along, upon his own dung-hill amidst the exulting shouts of thousands of brokers, contractors, and Jews, Napoleon, at the end of a march of five hundred miles, through countries guarded by the armies of two mighty empires and studded with fortified places, was preparing to make his triumphal entry into the Capital of his principal adversary, which adversary had been urged into the war by our "great man."—Particular notice was due to these occurrences at the Lord Mayor's Feast: they were calculated, they were contrived, evidently prepared, for the producing of a popular feeling favourable to the minister, and, of course, were considered amongst the means of preserving to him that power, by the possession of which he has been able to contribute so largely towards causing the calamities which have now come upon us. "I give you," said the Lord Mayor, "the health of that man, to whom the eyes of Europe are directed, as to the only barrier between them and slavery; WILLIAM PITT;" at which, we are told, that loud and reiterated plaudits ensued! What must these applauders now think? Are they not now anxious to bide their heads? Do they not now begin to anticipate that state, in which they were told the overthrow of Austria would place them? Do they now believe, that Mr. Pitt is the barrier between Europe and slavery? Nay; do they not begin to fear, that he will not prove an efficient barrier for England herself? Can it be, that the citizens of London do not, *even yet*, sympathise with the shop-keepers, the brokers, and the bankers of Vienna?—But, *what is to be now done?* That is the question. Hypocritical

as some of the partizans of the ministry may be, and contemptibly foolish as others may be, and are; there are, I imagine, very few of them who will now deny, that the dangers of this country are, beyond all comparison, greater than they were previous to the renewal of the war upon the Continent. I think, they will now acknowledge the truth of what we have been so virulently abused for asserting, that, if we now return to the *single-handed* war, there will exist not even *hope* of a diversion on the side of the Continent; that our powerful and now implacable enemy will seat himself down before our country as before a fortified place; that neither months nor years will weary him; that the Continent will not dare to stir for ten years to come; that the preparations, which we have hitherto seen, for invasion, are mere child's play, compared to what we shall see; and that, times of real danger are now swiftly coming on. Few persons will be found to deny this. What, then, are we to yield without a struggle? Are we to bend our necks submissively to the yoke? I trust not. I trust we shall leave nothing undone that is likely to contribute towards the salvation of our country. I trust we shall follow the example of our countrymen under the brave Nelson. I trust, that England will still be free and great. But, after all, *WHAT* is to be done? How are we to save ourselves and our posterity from the mortification, the shame, the infamy of subjection to a foreign yoke? Peace, Balaam! No more of your "hoping for the best:" you have *hoped* long enough. In defiance of reason and of experience, you have been hoping for the best, while worse and worse has still come upon us. Unfold your hands, therefore, and prepare to act. How many times, Balaam, thou son of Mammon, who hoped, at last, to be able to *purchase* your safety; how many times have I told you, that the age of commerce was drawing to a close; that the soldier was abroad, and that, however you might cry, he was resolved to have his share of the good things of this world? Peace, therefore; *hope* no more, but prepare to fight, or to be extinguished. Hard alternative! Aye, hard indeed, Balaam, that you, who have so generously administered to the relief of the nation's wants, and have, thereby, so honestly accumulated your hundreds of thousands; hard, indeed, that you should not be suffered to enjoy them in tranquillity; hard, indeed, that a ruffian band should come and compel you, after all, to fight for that which you have already gained, and legally secured to yourself and your heirs for ever! *Tis* hard, Balaam. But, that does not alter the

fact. The soldier is coming, and, rely upon it, that neither writs nor warrants will protect either your chests or your person.—Refer me no more, ye hirelings, and you, the endless tribe of placemen and pensioners; refer me no more to the all-protecting wisdom of your patrons. That wisdom has not foreseen, or, if it foresaw, it has not prevented, the fearful events which have just taken place; and, tell me, then, where is the foundation of your reliance for the future? Of all the numerous causes of national ruin and disgrace none is much more efficient than that indolent surrender of one's reason which so strongly marks the present inhabitants of this kingdom. "I'll warrant you the government will take care of themselves, and in so doing they will take care of us." This, or something very much like it, you every day hear even from men of understanding, and that, too, after they have been contemplating dangers brought upon them under the very government, upon which they still propose to you to rely. To hear such men, one would imagine, that they had lain in a transe from their infancy; that they had never been informed of what had passed in the world; and that they regarded the fall of a government as a physical impossibility.—But, still, coming back to our first question: *what is now to be done?* What, if your own private affairs had been brought into a state of ruin, would you do? Either give yourself up to poverty and despair; or, endeavour to retrieve your affairs. One or the other, certainly. And, if your affairs had theretofore been conducted by a steward, or servant of any kind, would not one of your first steps be (if you meant to retrieve them) to dismiss that servant, and take another? Oh! say the Cannings and the Ramuses and the Old Roses, we see what you are aiming at; you would have Mr. Pitt dismissed from his place! Why, gentlemen, with due submission to your better judgments, that is what I would really wish to see done. And, I should like to hear the reasons (your emoluments out of the question) upon which you object to it. We have tried him, aided by you and the Dundases, for rather more than twenty years; and, is not the result such as may well induce us to hazard a change? I have heretofore frequently had to trace the nation in its progress downwards, since it has been in his hands: when reminded of his financial talents, I have shown, that after having set out with a promise to reduce the national debt, he has augmented the interest which we have annually to pay on account of that debt, from nine to twenty seven mil-

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our labour, and the property and labour of our children, to that amount, for the purpose of carrying on war. And, what is the result? There is no way, say men what they will, there is, at last, no fair way of estimating a minister's worth, as a minister, other than that of comparing the state of the country at the end of his administration, or at the time when you are speaking (if he be still minister), with the state of the country at the time when he became minister. And, observe, here, that, in making this comparison, you are to consider all the means, and particularly the offensive force, of the country, not positively, but relatively with the means of other countries, and especially that country, or those countries, which have been, or, are likely to be, engaged in wars with you. Those great statesmen, the Lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh and Old George Rose do, generally, when the decline of the country is spoken of, immediately take fire, and fall most desperately to calculating, pouring down upon you whole torrents of figures, showing that, during the last twenty years, the goods, exported as well as imported, have increased in amount three or four fold; whence, as a matter of course, they expect you to infer, that the wealth, as they call it, of the nation has, in the same degree increased; and, as wealth and prosperity always, in their vocabulary, are synonymous terms, they expect you to conclude also, that the prosperity of the nation has received a similar addition. They would, indeed, be a little staggered, if any one had, upon these occasions, the spirit to rise and remind them of the vast increase of parish paupers; and, as to the *wealth* of the nation, they might be a good deal puzzled, if any one were to ask them, whether the nation was really become richer in consequence of having more than doubled its debt, and having exchanged its twenty or thirty millions' worth of circulating gold for little bits of paper having the name of twice that amount stamped upon them. This would puzzle them, and make them, in reply, talk as if they had hot cockles in their mouth. But, were we, notwithstanding our proofs to the contrary, to give them up the points of *wealth* and *prosperity*, they would thereby gain nothing, unless they could show, that France, our ancient and constant and natural rival and enemy had not surpassed us in the acquisition of those means, by which she would be enabled to *improve*. That pains-taking gentleman and scotch "King's friend" (and minister's friend too), Mr. George Chalmers, enters, in order to show how we have increased in power, into a comparison between the num-

ber of our ships of war and the number that Queen Anne had. A most unfortunate selection of epochs! for that mild and virtuous and gracious Queen, though she had but so few ships of war, and though the whole of her revenues amounted annually to less than four millions, was really the arbitress of Europe, for the balanced liberties of which, pursuing the policy of her predecessor, she most nobly and successfully made war; while, at the same time, she neglected nothing due to dignity and magnificence at home. During that war, the parliament, in one bill, provided for the erecting of fifty magnificent churches; and, about the same time, provision was made for augmenting the amount of the too scanty livings of the clergy. In our days; in these days of Pittite prosperity, we build nothing magnificent but warehouses and tax-offices; and, we pass laws to authorize and invite the clergy to alienate the property of the Church. Truly, Mr. Chalmers, a most unfortunate selection of epochs! In the reign of Queen Anne we were, small as our power was, able to compel the French to demolish the works of Dunkirk with their own hands. Compare that with the circumstances now existing with this vast increase of our power!—It is, however, evident, that, by statements such as those of Mr. Chalmers and the Lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, the people are flattered into a high opinion of themselves and of the present means of the country; they are pleased, because they are led to believe that no exertion is wanted; and, of course, they forbear to complain of want of wisdom in the ministry. One would, indeed, regard it as almost impossible, that, while they see the power of France so fearfully increased; while they see her in possession of the absolute command of all the sea-coast from the Baltic to the Gulph of Venice; and, especially while they see her actually making preparations for invading England from all those ports, opposite England and within a few hours sail of it, which ports were formerly, and until now, in the possession of those who were always the friends of England, and who, in all wars, were opposed to France; while they see this, it is almost impossible to believe, that they should, by a mere enumeration of the English fleet, and by a view of the increase of their imports and exports, be satisfied that all is yet well and safe! One can scarcely believe in the existence of infatuation so degrading to the intellectual character of the nation. Yet, is one constrained to believe it; and, it is to be feared, that, as in the case of all other nations, whose names, at

the end of a long course of infatuation, have been obliterated, the people of this country will never be brought to see and to face their dangers till it be too late. The reason why the partizans of the ministry, who have eight-tenths of the press at their command, endeavour to persuade the people that all is well, is evident enough. This is the way, in which alone they can lend their patrons aid. Their business is to deceive. But, really, powerful as the press must be acknowledged to be, there is no sufficient apology for the people, who, if they did not lend a willing ear, could not be so deceived. They have seen, that, since Mr. Pitt became minister, and especially during the last twelve years of his ministry, their country, which they always before regarded as quite equal, if not superior, in power, to France, has been gradually sinking, till they are now not ashamed to look one another in the face, while they acknowledge, that she is very far indeed the inferior of France. What would those amongst them, who are now about forty years old, have said, at the time when Mr. Pitt became minister, and when they were, too many of them at least, hawling out his praises, and literally crying him *up to the skies*; what would they, when, for instance, assembled at the Grocers' Hall to hail the "heaven-born minister," what would they have said, if any one had risen up amongst them, and bid them check their exultation, for that, in twenty years from that day, they would see, during the administration of this same minister, the dominions of France augmented by the conquest and actual annexation of all the countries on her side the Rhine, together with Savoy, Piedmont, and Genoa, swelling her population from twenty-six to thirty-five millions; that they would see her hold Holland (for whose independence such floods of English blood had been shed) in a state of absolute dependence upon her, and being little better than a fief of her empire; that they would see Switzerland in a similar situation; that they would see her conquer Italy, erect it into a kingdom, and place the crown upon the head of her own Sovereign; that they would see England making a peace of Amiens, abandoning the honour of the flag, having previously obliterated the French Lilies from the English shield, lest France should compel her to obliterate them; and, finally, that, as the natural consequence of all this, they would see their country menaced with invasion by the French, their persons drawn out and kept constantly armed for the purpose of resistance, beacons established on every high hill upon the coast for

the purpose of giving the alarm, laws passed providing for the driving away of the cattle, and for carrying off or destroying the corn, the hay, and the fodder; what, in short, would they have said, if they had then been told, that, were this "heaven-born minister" should quit his place, they would see the Sovereign of France, having first laid all Europe at his feet, keep England in a state of siege, and this, too, though the "heaven-born minister" should, in the mean time, have expended more than *three hundred millions of English money in wars*? What would they have said to the man who should so have warned them? And, what, then, would they have said and done, had he proceeded to predict, that, after all this; after all these calamities and all this disgrace brought upon them, they would, some of them at least, be so senseless or so base, as to continue their support and applause? Would they have heard him out? Would they not have interrupted him with the exclamation and with the corresponding act of RICHARD? Would they not, while they buried their knives, their scissars, and their bodkins in his body, have exclaimed, "down, down to hell, prophet, and finish thy prophecy there?" Yet, after all this, and more too, has actually come to pass, worse being daily and hourly expected, the Guildhall of London resounds with the praises of Mr. Pitt; who is, too, praised as the preserver of the liberties of Europe!—I should like to look one of these city applauders close in the face, and ask him how he could reconcile his conscience to the bestowing of such applause? I should like to see him made to comprehend the nature of his obligations towards his Sovereign and his country, to find him convinced that the setting of these obligations at naught would expose him to the most awful of consequences; and, then, I should like to put it closely to him, whether he did not repent of what he had done. Poor and paltry is the excuse that *the times have been difficult*; that, to cite the words of Mr. Pitt, it is our *fate* to live in times of extreme peril. The peril has not grown out of the times, but out of the measures of those who have had the disposal of the resources of nations. "From the *fatality* of the times," said he, in his speech of the 23d of May, 1803, "and the general state of the world, we must consider our lot, as cast by the decrees of Providence, in a time of peril and trouble." Truly, a most convenient doctrine! At the end of twenty years absolute command of all the resources of the kingdom, having, during that time actually doubled,

and more than doubled, the size of the Statute Book, he comes and complains of the decrees of Providence! Observe, too, that having very frequently been warned of the fatality of his measures, and having as frequently been told, that the nation was gradually sinking in his hands, he has, upon every such occasion, strongly maintained, that the nation was going on in progressive prosperity, that her resources of every sort, and, of course, her power, were continually becoming greater and greater. For the truth of this, I appeal to the recollection of every man who hears me. And shall we, then, bear to be told, and by this same minister too, that "our lot has been cast by the decrees of Providence in a time of peril?" The first eight years of his administration were years of peace, and of uncommon prosperity, owing to circumstances peculiarly favourable to us, our ancient enemy being, at the same time, in a state of unparalleled decrepitude. How completely has the scene been reversed! And shall he, now that the danger can be no longer hidden, be justified by throwing the blame upon Providence? Whoever were to take upon him the conducting of the national affairs now, indeed, might justly allege the peril of the times; but, the peril has arisen since Mr. Pitt became minister; it has arisen while he has had the absolute command of the national resources, which he has taken into his hands to an extent never before thought of. It was eight years before any necessity arose for drawing the sword; since it has been drawn he has expended three hundred millions in wars; he has been supported by a majority in parliament that enabled him to draw from the people whatever sums he pleased, and in whatever manner he pleased to employ them; and, after all this, having constantly maintained, in the interim, that his measures were the wisest, having constantly acted upon his own opinion to the rejection of all advice, and having as constantly asserted, that the riches and power of the country were daily increasing; after all this he comes and tells us to blame Providence for having decreed that we should live in a time of peril! And this justification, comes, too, observe, from a minister "heaven-born." Mr. Burke said, that the perfidious rabble of 1784 would, first or last, have cause to repent of their base and impious adulation.—This doctrine relative to the decrees of Providence will, of course, nay, it already has, been applied to the recent melancholy events upon the continent of Europe; though, it seems impossible to deny, that Mr. Pitt's measures have been

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the principal cause of them. It has, indeed, been denied, that he precipitated Austria into the war; but, does any one believe, that she would have gone into war, or into the present campaign, at least, if he had not offered her a subsidy for so doing? Nobody blamed a policy which led to an union of the powers of the Continent against France; but, it was not a hastily formed and inefficient coalition that men of real statesman-like talents were anxious to see, well convinced, and plainly foretelling, as Mr. Fox did, in the memorable speech from which I have selected my motto, that such a coalition would produce events that would render our situation beyond all comparison more dangerous than it already was. The Treasury writers harp upon the appointment of GENERAL MACK, as if all the calamities of the campaign were ascribable to him. No one ever blamed Mr. Pitt for the appointment of General Mack; and very few persons of sense and candour have taken upon them to blame General Mack himself, they having perceived, that, in every quarter, the Austrians, have been unable to resist the French. What Mr. Pitt has been blamed for is, for having precipitated the war, and, of course, the march of the Austrians. It is impossible for us, unless we obtain access to the port-folios of the foreign department, to ascertain precisely the degree, in which he contributed towards the hastening of Austria into the war; but, we know that, so long ago as February last, before any signs of war, on the part of Austria, were visible to us, or even to the French, he came forward with a proposition to provide five millions of money for the purpose of engaging the powers of the Continent in a war against France; and, we know, besides, that his and his colleagues' affairs at home stood in great need of something to retrieve them. Nor must we, upon this subject, overlook the letter of Lord Harrowby to Lord Levison Gower. This letter, it will be remembered was published by the French in the *Moniteur* of the 28th of March last, and was stated to have borne date the 5th of the preceding November. After reading a copy of a translation of it from the French, as inserted in all the London newspapers, we may add a remark or two upon it. — "I am glad to hear you have got so far in so short a time. The concluding part of your letter gave no hopes of great success; but the news from Copenhagen (received the 11th) relative to the arrival of the Amethyst, proved that our fears were groundless. I hope you will prevail on Russia, if not to fire great guns,



" at least to publish thundering manifes-
 " toes about the seizure of the Chevalier
 " Rumbold. Sweden has sent the account
 " of the expence of 25,000 men, amount-
 " ing to about forty-eight millions of *livres*
 " *tournois*; and I conclude from it, that
 " the Swedish ministers have made this ac-
 " count on purpose to have it rejected.—
 " We know nothing yet of the first nego-
 " ciation. M. Frère has been very ill. On
 " the 28th of September he sent a note to
 " Cevallos, to complain of the armament
 " at Ferrol. The only answer he received
 " was, that those armaments were not des-
 " tined against Great Britain. Parliament
 " is adjourned to the 3d of January. The
 " King is returned, perfectly well in every
 " respect. The dispatch of this day is par-
 " ticularly calculated for the Court of Ber-
 " lin, because it has *hitherto shewn very*
 " *little inclination to enter into those views.*
 " But even Vienna requires much *spurring*
 " on; it appears from the reports of Sir
 " Arthur Paget, that affairs *have not been*
 " *more forwarded by the negociation of*
 " *Rasumowsky.* As long as they will com-
 " plain on the one part, and not make any
 " plain proposals on the other, it will be im-
 " possible to get forward. The envoys
 " from England and Russia, at Vienna,
 " must be able to say, at the same time,
 " make a defensive alliance with us, in case
 " the consequences of the treaty cause a
 " war with France; see here the number
 " of Russian troops which you may calcu-
 " late upon; *here you have the plan of the*
 " *campaign*; there, what we propose, if
 " successful, and *here the subsidies which*
 " *England will give.* If no overtures can
 " be made sufficiently explicit and positive
 " to obtain a clear answer, it cannot be
 " hoped that Austria will be obliged to de-
 " clare herself. *Another year will elapse*
 " *with proposals on the one part, and re-*
 " *jections on the other*; so that resistance,
 " always supposed fruitless, will at last be-
 " come so indeed. Although we dare not
 " press Russia to proceed immediately to
 " active measures; yet if, contrary to our
 " expectation, she should be inclined to
 " proceed, you will take care not to oppose
 " it, especially if Prussia should be inclined
 " to take a part with her. All our friends
 " are well.—I am going to Bath for a fort-
 " night, &c."—Now, I do not pretend
 " to aver, that Lord Harrowby wrote such a
 " letter as this; I do not give it, and of course,
 " shall not reason upon it, as a document of
 " undoubted authenticity; I give it as a pub-
 " lication in the *Moniteur*, translated in to En-
 " glish, published in all the English prints,

and never, as far as I have observed, disa-
 vowed by Lord Harrowby, or by any one in
 his lordship's behalf. From its not having
 been disavowed, I myself believe it to be
 authentic, and to have been intercepted by
 the French, when they stopped and plun-
 dered the Messenger upon the borders of
 Hanover. If the reader does not believe
 this, the document will, of course, have no
 weight with him in forming his opinion
 upon the question of *precipitating Austria*;
 but, if he does believe the document to be
 authentic, he will, I think, regard it as
 strongly corroborating all that we have heard
 about the backwardness of the House of
 Austria, and particularly the Archduke
 Charles, to enter, *so soon* at least, into this
 fatal war.—Mr. Fox's opinion, as ex-
 pressed so clearly and fully (accompanied
 with his reasons) in his speech of the 21st
 of June last, as far as we are yet informed,
 notwithstanding the recent more promising
 appearances, was an anticipation, even a cir-
 cumstantial anticipation, of the event. The
 event itself is not, indeed, *proof* that the
 opinion was correct; but, it affords a fair
 and strong *presumption*; and, of one thing,
 at least, it is a proof, namely, that, if Mr.
 Fox had been minister, we should not now
 have to lament the yet probable fall of Aus-
 tria, and, in that case, to look forward to
 increased danger to ourselves. "No,"
 some hypocritical sycophant will say, "if
 " Mr. Fox had been minister, we should,
 " indeed, have seen no effort made to re-
 " press the ambition of France." But, in
 answer to insinuations of this sort, it must
 always be said, that Mr. Fox, in the speech
 here referred to, expressed his anxious de-
 sire to see that ambition repressed, and that
 too by means (indeed the only rational
 means) of a combination upon the Conti-
 nent; but, such a combination he was for
 taking time to form, and, when the time
 came, he was for adopting such principles as
 would be likely to retrieve our character
 upon the Continent, by convincing the com-
 bining powers, that we had the general good
 of Europe, and not our own exclusive in-
 terests, at heart.—To say, that an Oppo-
 sition has nothing to do but to object to
 every measure of a minister, in order some-
 times (as every minister will sometimes fail)
 to assume to themselves the credit of supe-
 rior wisdom, is mere cavilling, in this case;
 for, Mr. Fox's, though a solemn protest
 against the measure in question, was not a
 mere protest; it was accompanied with *his*
 reasons, and, whoever refers to the debates
 will perceive, that those reasons were ex-
 posed by nothing but confident assertions,

and by insinuations by no means complimentary either to his wisdom or his wishes. — What might, at bottom, be the object, which the minister had in view, in urging on this unfortunate war upon the Continent, we have no means of precisely ascertaining; but, the views of those, who have stood forward as his supporters, may be easily gathered from their language. The moment the Austrians began to move, they put forward, in his behalf, claims to *such a majority in parliament, as should enable him to dispense with the aid of Lord Sidmouth and his friends*; not forgetting to express their hope, that *now*, the people, by the mouths of their representatives, would “be more ready” to yield *his Majesty’s government* a grateful “support, than to impede their efforts by *the renewal of vexatious inquiries*.” The Roastbore an evident relation to these movements on the part of the press; but, unfortunately, it came a little too late, and has had an effect somewhat like that produced by Martin Marall, who wishing to pass for a melodious singer, but entranced by the sight of his mistress, kept wagging his mouth after the serenade had ceased. — After all, however, without regard to motives, there must be responsibility; responsibility contracted by him, who has, as far as our share extends, been the author of measures, which have, in so short a time, produced calamities so unbounded. An Empire (heretofore, by way of eminence, called THE EMPIRE) brought to the verge of annihilation: Europe, as a community of independent states, in imminent danger of being completely overthrown: England brought into a state of the utmost jeopardy: the sovereignty of the French left, (unless checked by events hardly to be expected) without extent or limit, to fill up first every part of the Continent, and then to flow into every other quarter of the globe. These are consequences, for which he who has been directly instrumental in producing them, whether *culpably or otherwise*, must be called to a strict account. It is in vain for a set of jobbers and loan-dealers and placemen and pensioners and men wanting to be peers and baronets; to say, that all was done for the best, it was impossible to help it, the measures were wise though the event has been disastrous, there must be something more than assertion for this, even though it were to come from quarters more competent and less to be suspected; for, if the country can, without inquiry, witness disasters like those above enumerated, it will require but a few grains more of apathy to fit it to the hands of the conqueror. — But, it would

be to equal, and, perhaps, to surpass, the hypocrisy of the ministerial writers to affect to believe, that a *change of ministry* and *nothing else* would enable us to save, or that would give us a chance of saving, our country. Such a change, unless it be *the first of a series of important changes*, though it might serve to gratify a great number of individuals; though it might, and would, give new hopes and animation to the people, would, in the end, only deceive them; would only retard, and, thereby, perhaps, render the more complete, the national ruin. When we are remarking upon the measures of a ministry, and particularly when our arguments, however fair and convincing they may be, tend to the producing of a *change of ministry*, we must be childish indeed to flatter ourselves with the hope of escaping the imputation of being actuated by mere party, and even selfish, motives. But, this must not deter us from plainly expressing our sentiments, especially at a time like the present; for, if ever there was, or can be, a time, when all private considerations ought to sink out of sight in competition with our public duty, such is the time in which I am now writing. Nevertheless, I should regard myself as a base flatterer of the people; I should blush while I read what I had written, were I to encourage my readers to hope, that a mere change in the offices of the government would protect our country from the dangers, with which it is now menaced. *What is further to be done, what must be done*, in order to afford us a rational hope of being able to maintain the throne and the dignity of our Sovereign, and, with them, our own liberties, *as handed down to us by our forefathers*, shall be the subject of future observations; but, I cannot postpone, even till the earliest opportunity, the exhorting of all those, with whom I may happen to possess any weight, to prepare their minds for a long, an arduous, and an awful contest; to count, in their prospects of the future, upon sacrifices and exertions, personal as well as pecuniary, such as they have heretofore not only never made, but never thought of; to make up their minds to a total deprivation of what the world calls pleasures, to the foregoing of conveniences, and to the supporting of fatigue, cold, and hunger; to come to a settled resolution, to suffer no party animosities, injuries, whether real or imaginary, no taunts or insults, however galling, from persons in power or their partizans, to alienate them, for one moment, from their public duty; and, above all things, to form an inflexible determination to cling to the country, through every possible vic-

to put every thing else to risk, to let every thing else perish, and to perish themselves, if perish they must, rather than see England subjected to a foreign yoke.—If there be another exhortation, which I would press with still more solicitude, it is, not to be deluded by false hopes. Not to suffer any favourable appearances at the grand sort of war upon the Continent, to turn our minds, for one moment, from the prospect of having to fight for our own liberties upon our own land; for, when such hopes, nothing can tend to less good, or to greater mischief. The recent accounts are satisfactory, in some respects, especially those which relate to the gallant conduct and the probable situation of the Archduke and his army. In the Tyrol, too, all does not appear to be lost; and, it is a source of great consolation to perceive, that the people of that country retain an unshaken attachment to their sovereign, amidst all his misfortunes; an example, which, let us hope, will not be useless with regard to his hereditary dominions. Nevertheless, we are but too well assured of the melancholly truth, that Napoleon has entered Vienna; that he possesses Italy; that he has at command all the resources afforded him in the wealth of a population of 250,000 of the most opulent of his adversary's subjects; that no small part of the magazines of the Emperor are in his hands; and, that there is a possibility, at least, of his making a political revolution co-operate with his military means in the annihilation of the House of Austria. True, that fortune is fickle; and in nothing more fickle than in the distinction of her favours in war. The next great battle may produce great reverses. The French may be defeated. The conqueror may, at last, be conquered. He may be killed. But, possibilities are too feeble for us to rest upon. We must endeavour to ascertain what is probable; and, in this pursuit, though we give full credit to the account of the victory over General Mortier on the 9th of November, at, or near Kerm, we should not overlook the circumstance, that, under the same date, we were informed that the imperial court of Austria was about to retreat from BRUNN to OLMUTZ (another 50 miles,) and that the place of its residence was speedily to be at CRACOW, a city out of Germany, and 200 miles from Vienna! Prussia is now named, and the Austrian manifesto from Brunn, as amongst the friends and allies of the Emperor Francis; and it is said, that she had originally declared, that she could not be ready to move till about the present time; but, that we hurried things on with a view of forcing

her into active operations. How nearly, at least, this policy has proved fatal, we all see. Upon the whole, therefore, though appearances are somewhat more promising than they were, they are by no means such as to justify the withdrawing of our minds, for one moment, from the anticipation of a struggle the most arduous and awful upon our native land. The Emperor of Austria has scorned to purchase the safety of his capital by the surrender of the independence of his country; and, if a like trial should be in reserve for us, our Sovereign, we may be assured, would follow the noble example, and, I trust, he would therein be cheerfully supported by every man, who has the honour to be numbered amongst his subjects. I trust, that, if our country should ever be invaded, we shall enter upon the contest, not as a contest for the preservation of funds or of riches or of commerce or of "comforts;" as is, now-a-days, the word; I trust, that, for the preservation of these, we shall think of no compromise, but that we shall resolve to sacrifice every thing, rather than suffer the smallest diminution of our Sovereign's dignity, or of the independence of our country. For the inculcation of these sentiments there may possibly be no pressing necessity; but, that they are always just, no man who loves his country will deny, and, that the rendering of them familiar to the minds of men is, at this time, necessary, I am fully convinced.

PARTY VIRULENCE.—Since writing the above, my attention has been attracted by a most virulent article in the *Courier* newspaper; an article the outrageous tone of which would certainly have prevented me from taking this sort of notice of it, did it not appear to convey an intimation of the propriety of restraining the liberty of the press, when exercised in animadverting upon the measures of ministers. I will first quote the passage, by which I have been the most forcibly struck, and will then advert to the immediate ground of the intimation.—“What! In the first moment of distress upon the Continent, when Austria is supposed to have been forced to submit, and when every other power has reason to apprehend from that modern Attila, the scourge of God: shall the first efforts of the English press be to taunt and triumph over, and calumniate? Shall it offer no condolence, no pity?—Shall it convey no cheering sentiment? Shall it speak no inspiring language? Shall it neither express regret, no promise support? Shall it represent us as the base deserters of those whose cause we professed to make

“our own; nay, not only the deserters
 “but the *detractors*? Shall it insult the
 “Continent in its miseries, and aggravate
 “its sufferings by the language of insult
 “and reproach? Shall it revile where it
 “ought to console, and mock the power
 “over which it ought to mourn? Shall it
 “hold out *Austria as a fool*, and Russia
 “and Prussia as drunken drivellers, faith-
 “less, profane, and perjured? If the *Eng-
 “lish Press* can do this, it may indeed be
 “said, *that it is the greatest curse that can
 “afflict the world.* But it shall not do this
 “with impunity. Was the article written
 “with a view to the *abridgment of the li-
 “berty of the press in this country*? The
 “Opposition we know are no friends to it,
 “as they proved by their conduct last ses-
 “sion. But it is fit that it should be pub-
 “licly known that the charge against the
 “EMPEROR OF RUSSIA and the KING OF
 “PRUSSIA of being *drunken drivellers and
 “perjured wretches*, has been made solely
 “by the supporters of the Opposition; that
 “it is utterly detested, disclaimed, and *dis-
 “owned by the English Government*, who res-
 “pect because they know the characters of the
 “two Sovereigns; who know them to be in-
 “capable of deceit or falsehood, and who place
 “the firmest reliance upon their integrity and
 “their honour.”—Now, who would not
 think, that some one had thus calumniated
 these two princes? Who would not think
 that some Opposition writer had really made
 an attack upon them such as is here de-
 scribed? The article, from which this ex-
 tract is taken, professes to be a commentary
 upon a most eloquent, and every way admi-
 rable, article in the MORNING HERALD of
 the 2d instant. In order to enable him to
 account for this ferocious violence on the
 part of the COURIER, the reader must be in-
 formed, that the editor of the HERALD mis-
 led, like many others, by the confident ex-
 pectations held out by the ministers and their
 partizans, became, from the outset, a zealous
 supporter of the measures leading to the war
 on the part of Austria, which support he ap-
 pears to have continued, till events taught
 him to withdraw it, when, actuated, appa-
 rently, by a sense of public duty, he candidly
 and explicitly stated to his readers (in the
 article alluded to), his reasons for so doing.
 In enumerating the events by which
 he had been deceived, he thus alludes to the
 ridiculous story, related by the COURIER and
 other ministerial writers, about the march of
 the Prussian armies towards Franconia.
 “Borne down by the indefatigableness of
 “successive assurances on the part of the
 “echoes of office, we actually surrendered

“the uses of our understanding to the
 “eagerness of our wishes. Though offend-
 “ed by the midnight fooleries of a couple
 “of drunken drivellers, in their profanation
 “of the tomb’s sanctity; though all com-
 “mon sense and sound philosophy taught us
 “a distrust of oaths; though the slightest
 “exercise of our reason would suggest to us
 “the fear, that these persons would betray
 “each other only a little the sooner for the
 “swearing; though we know that an ho-
 “nest cause disdains such aid—

“Swear priests and cowards

“Unto bad causes, swear such creatures as men
 “doubt:

“—though sentiments like these were pre-
 “sent to our reflection: yet, even into this
 “ludicrous mummery we gave, as a sort of
 “pious fraud, when we were stoutly told,
 “in the same breath, that two or three hun-
 “dred thousand Prussians were rushing
 “through Franconia, to fall upon the flanks
 “of the French army, and in his turn to
 “inflict upon Buonaparté the fate of Mack;
 “what must our feelings be, when we find
 “that not one Prussian stirs one foot?”—

Now, when the reader is informed, that,
 from the beginning to the end of the article
 here quoted from, neither the Emperor of
 Russia nor the King of Prussia is once in-
 troduced, either by name, description, or al-
 lusion, let him determine how great must
 have been the malignity that devised the
 above interpretation of this passage, and that
 grounded thereon an intimation of the pro-
 priety of putting an extinguisher upon all
 that part of the press not devoted to the mi-
 nistry! But, this is the constant practice of
 these writers. Beaten by argument and fact,
 they first try upon you the powers of abuse;
 despised for that, they next have recourse to
 serious falsehood; detected and exposed
 here, their last resort is to *the law*, the fangs
 of which they invoke against you, with im-
 pudence so persevering, that, at last, the un-
 reflecting public begin to think you are a
 proper object, not of justice, but of legal
 persecution; and, in a very little while, they
 are perfectly prepared for seeing you put
 down, ruined and extinguished. It is ex-
 cessively base in these Treasury writers to
 resort to threats of the law; because they
 feel, that they themselves are in no danger.
 They attack whom they please to attack.
 This editor of the COURIER, for instance,
 has very recently, imputed to the Opposi-
 tion, members of parliament clearly pointed
 out, *perfidious and traitorous designs*; nay,
 he has called them *traitors*. The MORNING
 Post, in a passage lately referred to, called
 General Mack an “*infamous wretch*.” The

COURIER, as was shown in page 821 (to which I beg leave to refer the reader), had the audacity and injustice to reproach *those who employed General Mack* as being as foolish as a talking fellow without brains; and, the unfortunate Emperor of Austria himself is, by the introduction of an anecdote about King James, represented as a FOOL. Yet, it is this very writer, who, finding himself overcome by a literary antagonist, flies to the law, and puts his own construction upon a passage perfectly innocent, in order to effect his malignant purpose. Neither in this passage, nor in any part of the article from which it is extracted, is there, as was before observed, any mention of, or any allusion to, the Emperor of Russia or the King of Prussia; would not this editor of the COURIER, then, if he had been actuated by wishes for the public good, have been very cautious how he introduced their names, coupled with such appellations? No one had called them "*drunken drivellers*," or "*perjured wretches*." No one in England, except himself or some of his fellows, would, I should hope, dare so to describe them. But, in fact, *he* has so described them; and, as far as his writings are likely to have effect, they must, in this instance at least, have a most mischievous effect. Yet, one is not so much shocked at what he has thus contributed to circulate respecting the characters of these two monarchs as at his insinuations respecting the character of the Austrian cabinet and Monarch, especially when taken into view with his repeated comparisons between the conduct of the Austrian army and that of our fleet. THERE, indeed, we discover a want of feeling; there, indeed, did the English press "*taunt, triumph over, and calumniate*" our ally, our best, most ancient, and most faithful ally. If the ministry do, as I hope, and really believe they do, disavow every sentiment hostile to the monarchs of Russia and Prussia, they will, I should also hope, take some means of staying the plague of this man's pen. I hope that they will disavow what he has *now* written; and, that they will, above all things, make him publicly disavow what he has recently written respecting the Austrian cabinet and army, and, though unfortunate, faithful and illustrious monarch. — In the mean time, as a relief from the contemplation of this disgusting party malignity, and to convince all those foreigners, into whose hands this sheet may chance to fall, that all Englishmen are not disposed to taunt, triumph over, and calumniate the House of Austria, I, with pleasure extract, the follow-

ing passage from the MORNING STAR (a daily paper just established in London), of the 2d instant. The editor, partaking in the common deception respecting the terms of an armistice between France and Austria, first briefly describes the probable consequences, and then breaks forth in an eloquent strain of applause, but not more eloquent than just. "The calamity of this event is common to all the nations of Europe. To the awful emotion excited by the image of fallen greatness, they have all to add the grief for a lost benefactor. Amidst the general selfishness of the eighteenth century, amidst philosophers of kings, and calculating ministers, Austria has stepped forward in the common cause, and with fatal, because precipitate generosity, set her all to the risk. The dye is against her, but there is no generosity amongst men, if, in a common game, they leave her to pay the whole score. — Austria has, indeed, the boast of having every state of Europe as her debtor. To whatever cause it must be imputed; whether to the actual greatness, and real splendour of her empire, which by some natural link of cause and effect may have inspired something of peculiar grandeur into the Sovereign; whether to that chivalry of her origin, which, having as its basis a peculiar sensibility of honour, has insensibly ingrafted this principle in the imperial constitution, or whether to the hereditary generosity of an individual family, it is certain, that there has ever been a more invariable generosity, a more enlarged political dealing in the House of Austria, than in any other line of Sovereigns in Europe. — We have seen in our own times what sacrifices she has made in the common cause. To this alone she has successively sacrificed the noblest members of her empire, and to this she has at length sacrificed her very empire itself: she has sealed her honour and her fidelity by her ruin." — These sentiments, uttered, too, at a moment when there was *no hope* left, do great honour to the heart of the writer, be he who he may, and they will, I trust, be found to be the general sentiments of Englishmen, of all ranks and degrees. Upon this point, at least, I hope, there will not be found a single voice of dissent. With what pleasure must this writer have learnt, that all hope was not lost; that the House of Austria, though its capital was gone, had expressed the noble resolution still to resist! May that resistance be effectual; but, whether it be effectual or

not, it gives the House of Austria new claims to the esteem and the gratitude of Europe in general and of England in particular.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Sixteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army; from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur.*

Rheid, Nov. 2.—Prince Murat has continued his march in pursuit of the enemy, sword in hand, and arrived on the 31st of Oct. before Lambach. The Austrian Generals, perceiving that their troops could not hold out, caused eight battalions of Russians to advance for the purpose of protecting their retreat. The 17th regiment of infantry of the line, the first regiment of chasseurs, and the 8th of dragoons, charged the Russians with impetuosity, and after a lively fire put them into disorder, and drove them to Lambach. We made 500 prisoners.—On the morning of the 1st inst. Prince Murat communicated that General Walter, with his division of cavalry, had taken possession of Wels. General Beaumont's division of dragoons, and the first division of the army of Marshal Davoust, commanded by General Bisson, had taken possession of Lambach. The bridge over the Traun was cut down; for which, Marshal Davoust substituted a bridge of boats. The enemy seemed disposed to dispute the left bank of the river, Col. Valterre, of the 30th regiment, was one of the first to throw himself into a barge, and passed the river. General Bisson, whilst making his dispositions for passing, received a musket ball in the arm.—Another division of this corps of Marshal Davoust has advanced beyond Lambach, on the road to Steyer. The remainder of his corps of the army is on the heights of Lambach.—Marshal Soult will arrive this evening at Wels.—Marshal Lannes will arrive this evening at Linz.—Gen. Marmont is on his march for the purpose of turning their position on the banks of the Enns.—Prince Murat commends the conduct of Col. Couroux, commanding the 17th regiment of the line. The troops could not possibly under any circumstances display more impetuosity and courage.—Immediately on his arrival at Salzburg, Marshal Bernadotte detached General Kellerman, at the head of his advanced guard, in pursuit of a column of the enemy, which was retreating by the road to Carinthia. It had taken shelter under the fort of Pasing, in the defile of Pasing. Whatever might have been the strength of its position, the carbineers of the 27th regiment of light infantry attacked it with impetuosity. Gen. Warte

directed Capt. Campobane to turn the fort by roads almost impassable. Five hundred men and three officers were made prisoners. General Kellerman bestows praises on the conduct of Barber Latour, Chief of Battalion. General Warte has had his cloaths pierced with balls.—Our advanced posts announce from Wels, that the Emperor of Germany had arrived there on the 25th of Oct. that he there learned the fate of his army at Ulm; and that he was convinced, with his own eyes, of the frightful ravages committed every where by the Russians, and of the extreme discontent of his subjects. It is positively asserted, that he has returned to Vienna without alighting from his carriage.—The ground is covered with snow; the rains have ceased; the cold has arrived at its height; it is very severe; it is by no means like the commencement of November, but the month of January.—The weather is drier, as well as more wholesome, and more favourable for marching.

Seventeenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Lambach, Nov. 3.—This day Marshal Davoust has pushed his fore-posts near to Steyer. General Methand, with the reserve of the cavalry, under the orders of Prince Murat, entered Lenz on the 1st of Nov. Marshal Lannes arrived there on the 3d of November with his division of the army. Considerable magazines were found at Lenz, of which the inventories have not as yet been made out; there are a great many sick in the hospitals; of whom are about an hundred Russians. Fifty Russians have been made prisoners.—In the combat at Lambach, two Russian pieces of cannon were found among those taken. A Russian General, and an Austrian Colonel of Hussars, were killed.—The wound which General Bisson, Commander of the first division of Marshal Davoust's division of the army, received in the arm, is so serious, as to prevent his serving the rest of the campaign. There is no danger, however. The Emperor has given General Caffarelli the command of this division.—Since the passage of the Inn, we have taken from 16 to 1800 prisoners, comprising both Austrians and Russians, without counting the number of the sick prisoners. The division under the command of General Marmont left Lambach on the 3d of Nov. at mid-day.—The Emperor has established his head-quarters at Lambach.—The season continues severe, the ground is covered with snow, the weather is very cold.—At Lambach magazines of salt were found worth several mil-

lions. In the chest at Linz were found several hundred thousand florins.—The Russians have spread desolation in the neighbourhood of Wels, Lambach, and the surrounding villages. There are some villages where they have killed eight or ten prisoners.—The agitation and confusion are extreme at Vienna. It is said that the Emperor of Austria has established himself in the convent of Benedictines at Moelk. It would seem that in the sequel of the month of November events of the greatest importance will take place.—M. Lezay, Minister of France at Salzburg, has had an audience of the Emperor at the moment when his Majesty set out from Braunau. Till then he had constantly resided at Salzburg.—We have no news from M. de Rochefoucault. It is believed that he is still at Vienna. At the moment that the Austrian army passed the Inn, he demanded passports, which were refused him.—Several Russian deserters have arrived to day.

Eighteenth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Linz, Nov. 5.—Prince Murat does not lose sight of the enemy. They had left at Ebersberg 3 or 400 men to retard the passage of the Traun; but General Walter's dragoons threw themselves into boats, and, under the protection of the artillery, attacked the town with impetuosity. Lieut. Villaudet, of the 13th regiment of dragoons, was the first to pass over in a small boat.—General Walter, after having passed the bridge of Traun, advanced towards Enns. The brigade of General Milhaud, met the enemy at the village of Asten, defeated them, pursued them to Enns, and made 200 prisoners, 50 of whom were Russian hussars; 20 Russian hussars were killed. The rear-guard of the Austrians, supported by the Russian cavalry, was every where overthrown; neither one nor the other waited to be charged. The 22d and 16th regiments of chasseurs, and their Colonels Larour-Maubourg, and Durosnel, shewed the greatest intrepidity. Flahault, Aid-de-camp to Prince Murat, was wounded in the arm. Yesterday we passed the Enns, and this day Prince Murat advanced in pursuit of the enemy. Marshal Davoust arrived on the 3d at Steyer: on the 4th he took possession of the town, and made 200 prisoners. The enemy made a shew of defending it. General Beaumont's division of dragoons have maintained their character: his Aid-de-camp was killed. Both the bridges on the Enns are completely repaired.—At the battle of Lambach, the Austrian Col. De Graden, and the Russian Col. Go-

lofskin, were killed.—The Emperor of Austria, on his arrival at Linz, received complaints from the Magistracy of the bad conduct of the Russians, who are not content to plunder without beating the peasantry, which has occasioned a number of villages to be deserted. The Emperor appeared extremely afflicted at these excesses, and observed, that he could not answer for the Russian troops as for his own, and that they should endure in patience; which gave but little consolation to the inhabitants. A great deal of provisions was found at Linz, and a considerable quantity of cloth and clothes in the Imperial manufactories.—General Deroi, at the head of a body of Bavarians, fell in, at Lovers, with the advanced guard of a column of five Austrian regiments coming from Italy, completely defeated it, and took 400 prisoners and three pieces of cannon. The Bavarians fought with the greatest obstinacy and gallantry.—General Deroi was wounded by a pistol shot. These trivial actions gave rise to numerous instances of courage on the part of certain officers. The Major-General is occupied in drawing up a particular account, in which every one will receive that share of the glory which his courage has deserved.—The Enns may be considered as the last line which defends the approaches to Vienna. It is said that the enemy intend to make a stand, and intrench themselves on the heights of St. Hyppolite, within ten leagues of Vienna. Our advanced guard will be there to-morrow.

Twentieth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Linz, Nov. 7.—The combat of Arnsletten has reflected great honour on the cavalry, and particularly on the 9th and 10th regiments of hussars, and on the grenadiers of General Oudinot's division. The Russians have since accelerated their retreat; in vain they cut down the bridges over the Ips, which have been immediately re-established, and Prince Murat has reached the abbey of Moelk.—A reconnoitring party has taken the route of Bohemia. We have taken considerable magazines, both at Freystadt and Matthausen.—Marshal Mortier with a division, manoeuvred upon the left bank of the Danube.—A deputation from the Senate has just arrived at Linz. The Elector of Bavaria is expected there in two hours.

Linz, Nov. 8. The Elector of Bavaria and the Electoral Prince arrived here yesterday. Lieut. General the Count De Guilly, sent by the Emperor of Austria arrived there in the course of the night. He had a very

long conference with the Emperor. The object of his mission is not known.—In the combat of Arnsletten we took 1,800 prisoners, 700 of whom were Russians.—Prince Murat has established his head-quarters at the abbey of Molk. His advanced posts are at St. Polten.—On the 8th, Gen. Marmont directed his march to Leoben. Arrived at Weyer, he encountered the regiment of Guilay, charged it and made 400 prisoners, among whom were a Colonel, and several officers. He has pursued his march. All the columns of the army are in grand march.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NAVAL VICTORY OFF TRAFALGAR.

(Concluded from p. 838.)

Orion: 1 seaman, killed; 2 petty officers, 17 seamen, and 4 marines, wounded. Total 24.—Agamemnon: 2 seamen, killed; 7 seamen, wounded. Total 9.—Spartiate: 3 seamen, killed; 1 officer, 2 petty officers, 16 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Total 23.—Africa: 12 seamen, and 6 marines, killed; 2 officers, 5 petty officers, 30 seamen, and 7 marines, wounded. Total 62.—Belleisle: 2 officers, 1 petty officer, 22 seamen, and 8 marines, killed; 3 officers, 3 petty officers, 68 seamen, and 10 marines, wounded. Total 126.—Colossus: 1 officer, 31 seamen, and 8 marines, killed; 5 officers, 9 petty officers, 115 seamen, and 31 marines, wounded. Total 200.—Achille: 1 petty officer, 6 seamen, and 6 marines, killed; 4 officers, 4 petty officers, 37 seamen, and 14 marines, wounded. Total 72.—Polyphemus: 2 seamen, killed; 4 seamen, wounded. Total 6.—Swiftshure: 7 seamen, and 2 marines, killed; 1 petty officer, 6 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Total 17.—Defence: 4 seamen, and 3 marines, killed; 23 seamen, and 6 marines, wounded. Total 36.—Thunderer: 2 seamen, and 2 marines, killed; 2 petty officers, 9 seamen, and 1 marine, wounded. Total 16.—Defiance: 2 officers, 1 petty officer, 8 seamen, and 6 marines, killed; 1 officer, 4 petty officers, 39 seamen, and 9 marines, wounded. Total 70.—Total: 21 officers, 15 petty officers, 283 seamen, and 104 marines, killed; 41 officers, 57 petty officers, 870 seamen, and 196 marines, wounded. Total 1587.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

Return of the Names of the Officers and Petty Officers killed and wounded on board the Ships of the British Squadron, in the Action with the Combined Fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st Oct. 1805.

KILLED.—Victory: The Right Hon. Lord Viscount NELSON, K. B. Vice Admiral of the White, Commander in Chief, &c. &c. &c.; John Scott, esq. secretary; Charles W. Adair, captain royal marines; W. Ram, lieutenant; R. Smith and A. Palmer, midshipmen; T. Whipple, captain's clerk.—Royal Sovereign: B. Gilliland, lieutenant; W. Chalmers, master; R. Green, 2d lieutenant of royal marines; J. Aikenhead and T. Braund, midshipmen.—Britannia: F. Roskrage, lieutenant.—Temeraire: S. Busigny, captain of royal marines; J. Kingston, lieutenant of royal marines; L. Oades, carpenter; W. Pitts, midshipman.—Prince: None.—Neptune: None.—Dreadnought: None.—Tonnant: No return.—Mars: G. Duff, captain; A. Duff, master's mate; E. Corlyn and H. Morgan, midshipmen.—Bellerophon: J. Cooke, first captain; E. Overton, master; J. Simmens, midshipman.—Minotaur: None.—Revenge: T. Grier and E. F. Brooks, midshipmen.—Conqueror: R. Lloyd and Wm. M. St. George, lieutenants.—Leviathan: None.—Ajax: None.—Orion: None.—Agamemnon: None.—Spartiate: None.—Africa: None.—Belleisle: E. Geall and J. Woodin, lieutenants; G. Nind, midshipman.—Colossus: T. Scriven, master.—Achille: F. J. Mugg, midshipman.—Polyphemus: None.—Swiftshure: None.—Defence: None.—Thunderer: None.—Defiance: T. Simens, lieutenant; W. Foster, boatswain; James Williamson, midshipman.

WOUNDED.—Victory: J. Pasco and G. Miller Bligh, lieutenants; L. B. Reeves and J. G. Peake, lieutenants of royal marines; W. Rivers (slightly), G. A. Westphall, and R. Bulkeley midshipmen; J. Geoghegan, agent victualler's clerk.—Royal Sovereign: J. Clavell and J. Bashford, lieutenants; J. Le Vesconte, 2d lieutenant of royal marines; W. Watson, master's mate; G. Kennicott, G. Thompson, J. Cambell, and J. Farrant, midshipmen; I. Wilkinson, boatswain.—Britannia: S. Trounce, master; W. Grunt, midshipman.—Temeraire: J. Mould, lieutenant; S. J. Payne, lieutenant of royal marines; J. Brooks, boatswain; T. S. Price, master's mate; J. Eastman, midshipman.—Prince: None.—Neptune: J. Hurrell, captain's clerk.—Dreadnought: J. L. Lloyd (slightly) lieutenant; A. McCulloch and J. Saffin, midshipmen.—Tonnant: No return.—Mars: E. Garrett and J. Black, lieutenants; T. Cook, master; T. Norman, 2d captain of royal marines; J. Yonge, G. Guiren, W. J. Cook, J. Jenkins, and A. Luckraft, midshipmen.—Bellerophon: J. Wemys, captain of royal marines; T. Robinson, boatswain; E. Harlley, master's mate; W. N. Jewell, J. Stone,

T. Bant, and G. Pearson, midshipmen.—*Minotaur*: J. Robinson, boatswain; J. S. Smith, midshipman.—*Revenge*: R. Moorsom, captain (slightly); L. Brokenshaw, master; J. Berry, lieut.; P. Lily (slightly), captain of royal marines.—*Conqueror*: T. Wearing, lieut. of royal marines; P. Mendell, lieut. of his Imperial Majesty's Navy (both slightly).—*Leviathan*: J. W. Watson, midshipman (slightly).—*Ajax*: None.—*Orion*: Sause, C. P. Cable, midshipmen (both slightly).—*Agamemnon*: None.—*Spartiate*: J. Clarke, boatswain; J. Bellairs, and J. Knapman, midshipmen.—*Africa*: M. Hay, acting lieut.; J. Tynmore, captain of royal marines; H. West and A. Turner, master's mates; F. White (slightly), J. Elmhurst, and J. P. Bailey, midshipmen.—*Belleisle*: W. Terrie, lieut.; J. Owen, 1st lieut. of royal marines; A. Gibson, boatswain; W. H. Pearson and W. Culfield, master's mates; S. Jago, midshipman; J. T. Hodge, volunteer, first class.—*Colossus*: J. N. Morris, captain; G. Bully, lieut.; W. Forster, acting lieut.; J. Benson, lieut. of royal marines; H. Milbanke, master's mate; W. Herringham, F. Thistlewayte (slightly), T. G. Reece, H. Snellgrove, R. McLean, G. Wharrie, T. Renou, and G. Denton, midshipmen; W. Adamson, boatswain.—*Achille*: P. Prynn (slightly) and J. Bray, lieutenants; P. Westroppe, captain of royal marines; W. Laddon, lieut. of royal marines; G. Pegge, master's mate; W. H. Staines and W. J. Snow, midshipmen; W. S. Warren, volunteer, first class.—*Polyphemus*: None.—*Swiftsure*: A. B. Hancock, midshipman.—*Defence*: None.—*Thunderer*: J. Snell, master's mate; A. Galloway, midshipman.—*Defiance*: P. C. Durham (slightly), captain; J. Spratt and R. Browne, master's mates; J. Hodge and E. A. Chapman, midshipman.

(Signed) C. COLLINGWOOD.

From the London Gazette, Nov. 30. Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Capt. Blackwood, of his Majesty's Ship the *Euryalus*, to Wm. Marsden, Esq. dated this day at the Admiralty.

SIR,—Observing in the *Gazette Extraordinary* of the 27th inst. that the number of the enemy's ships taken and destroyed, in consequence of the action of the 21st of Oct. is stated at 20 sail of the line; I take the liberty of mentioning to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that as this must be intended to include the French ship *Argonaute*, of 74 guns, which ship I had an opportunity of knowing was safe in the port of Cadiz, it will be proper to state the actual number taken and destroyed, at 19 sail of the line.

This apparent inaccuracy was occasioned by the dispatch of the commander in chief, dated the 4th, having been made up before my last return, with a flag of truce from that port. I am, &c.

HENRY BLACKWOOD.

PRISONERS OF WAR.—*Correspondence between the English and French Governments relative to Prisoners of War.*—*Transport-Office, May 28, 1805.*

SIR,—Although we still remain without receiving any answer to the propositions made to the French government, in our letter to you of the 13th of Sept. last, relative to a general exchange of prisoners of war; yet, desirous always to promote the interests of humanity, to the utmost of our power, we have not ceased to release, and send to France, from time to time, all such French prisoners of war, as from age, wounds, or other causes, appear not likely again to become active enemies; and we accordingly embrace the present favourable season of the year, for sending, from Bristol, about 40 French prisoners of this description, who will be conveyed to Morlaix in the same vessel with this letter.—In making this communication to you, it is fit that we should request of you to express our hope to the minister of marine, that the same motives which actuate us will induce the French government to send immediately to this country all such of the British prisoners in their possession, as are, from either of the causes above mentioned, become unfit for any active service, and consequently cannot add to the force of this country. Among the prisoners of this description, we beg to recommend to your notice, Lieut. W. Dalzell, who was made prisoner on the 4th of January last, and who appears, by a certificate from the surgeon who attends him, of which the enclosed is a copy, to be so much disabled by the wounds which he received at the time of his capture, as to require the utmost care and attention of his family. We have only to add, that if the French government will release this young officer, we will immediately release any French prisoner of equal rank whom you may point out to us, in exchange for him. (Signed) RUPT. GEORGE, AMBROSE SERLE, THOS. HAMILTON, J. BROWN. To M. RIVIERE, &c. *Answer of the French Government, dated Paris, Sept. 3.*

Gentlemen,—I have laid before his Excellency the Minister of Marine, and the Colonies, the letter you did me the honour to write to me on the 28th of May last, relative to the sending home English prisoners of war detained in France, who, on age,

wounds, or infirmities, had rendered incapable of being employed in active service, and particularly Lieut. Dalyell, of the Ratler cutter.—His Excellency directs me to inform you, that nothing can be done upon the subject, without a formal order from the Emperor, and that, under the present circumstances, his Imperial Majesty cannot attend to the business.—Doubt not, gentlemen, of the zeal with which I shall renew the representation, as soon as circumstances shall permit, and of my eagerness to communicate to you the determination which shall be adopted upon the subject. Accept, gentlemen, the assurance of my high consideration. (Signed) RIVIERE.

SURINAM.—*Official Report received and communicated by the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Counsellors of Court, of Policy, and Criminal Justice, of the Colony of Surinam, relative to the late Insurrection. From the Surinam Gazette Extraordinary; dated Sept. 18, 1805.*

On Monday the 9th instant, the unpleasant information had been received, that the free colonial black troops which are stationed at Post Orangebo, under the command of Captain Muller, have executed their abominable project, and, on Saturday evening, between the hours of 8 and 9, shot and murdered Captains Muller and Wan Der Assen (which last commanded at Post Inotapie, but had arrived on a visit to Captain Muller, at six o'clock in the evening), with the white serjeant stationed at the post, and also the resident commissary and serjeant; and that some of these black troops, to the number of ten, had repaired to the wood plantation, called Woolfskamp, where they, on Sunday noon, about twelve o'clock, also had massacred the residing overseer, Mr. Backer, and from thence kidnapped and carried off the male and female slaves who were on his estate, returning again to the Post Orangebo; and, after examining every thing, left three males and three females behind, on account of their not being able to go with them, and then took their route forwards Merewyne.—On receipt of this information, his Excellency, the Lieut.-Governor, instantly had written to the commanding officer at Port Orange, and charged him to march, without delay, a detachment to reinforce the Post of Prince William Frederic; at the same time detaching from here, under command of Major Roepel, sixty men to the Upper Commonwyne, and the same number, under command of Capt. Inthurn, to the Jew Savannah; the last mentioned to march by land to the Upper Commonwyne, and on his arrival there, to join with the

others, and, after due deliberation, to do whatever may be judged necessary to frustrate the object of the rebels, and also to track them in the best and most speedy manner.—In the mean time, orders have been given to reinforce all the posts, which orders have already been executed.—A letter has been received yesterday by the general from the commanding officer, Turner, at Post Orange, mentioning to have received a letter from the officer commanding at Post Prince William Frederic, wherein he states to have received information that the Post Armina had mutinied, and that the officer and doctor had been killed by five of the black soldiers, who, the week before, had been sent as patrol to the Post Orangebo, and, on their return, committed this act, after which they had fled, when they were joined by the remaining troops of the post.—The officer, Klein, after receiving this information, called his men before him, to whom he held forth the foregoing circumstances, and demanded of them how they were disposed, and if he could rely on them, to whom they unanimously and with one accord swore to be firm and loyal to the country, and would never leave their officer, and should obey his orders punctually. Hereupon the officer Klein immediately sent an express to the Indians, cautioning them to take care of themselves, and to watch as close as possible what was passing above, and also to report the same without delay; which they had accepted faithfully to accomplish. Three men had been dispatched for the purpose of assisting in discovering what was going on, but who had not returned at the time this letter was sent off.—The officer, Klein, the other day, in the morning, had repaired on board of the there lying gun-brig, and related to the commander all that had been transacted by the black troops, requesting him at the same time to go on shore with him, which was immediately complied with. After they had arrived at the post, the Lieutenant Klein, for the second time, had called his men before him, when they again swore, in presence of the commander of the brig, the same fidelity and loyalty as the evening before.—It appears, from the examinations and depositions of several persons who were witnesses to the barbarous acts (but who, through favourable opportunities, made their escape, and arrived here), that this mutiny only exists among the ringleaders, and not generally among the whole corps, from which there is good reason to hope that several of these mutineers, out of fear or otherwise, will return to their duty. By order of the court, (Signed) M. S. SCAUS-TER, Sec.